

Message Text

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SUBJECT: NEWSWEEK SPECIAL ARTICLE ON THE "NORTH-SOUTH
COLD WAR"

1. NEWSWEEK MAGAZINE PLANS A SPECIAL ARTICLE ON THE
"NORTH-SOUTH COLD WAR" FOR ITS OVERSEAS EDITIONS. THE
ARTICLE WILL FOCUS ON THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION OF
THE UNGA. NEWSWEEK CORRESPONDENTS IN BOGOTA AND MEXICO

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CITY ARE BEING ASKED TO ANSWER THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS
(AMONG OTHERS) AND THEY MAY WELL CONSULT U.S. EMBASSIES
IN THE PROCESS:

(A.) IS THE NORTH-SOUTH DIVISION A NEW GLOBAL ALIGNMENT THAT WILL CONTINUE TO DOMINATE THE POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC SCENE FOR YEARS?

(B.) HOW DID THE SPLIT ORIGINATE AND WHAT ARE ITS HISTORICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL ORIGINS?

(C.) WHAT POLICIES OF THE DEVELOPED NATIONS HAVE PROVOKED GREATEST RESENTMENT, - OR IS IT LACK OF POLICIES?

2. WE KNOW THAT POSTS HAVE ALREADY RECEIVED A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF GUIDANCE ON THIS SUBJECT AND HAVE THEIR OWN

VIEWS, BUT A FEW THOUGHTS, KEYED TO THE ABOVE, MIGHT BE USEFUL AS A QUICK REFERENCE IF EMBASSIES ARE APPROACHED. OBVIOUSLY EMBASSIES WILL ALSO WANT TO TAKE FULL ACCOUNT OF LOCAL CONDITIONS IN THEIR REPLIES.

(A) A VERY BROAD DIVISION OF ECONOMIC INTERESTS SEEMS TO HAVE DEVELOPED IN RECENT YEARS AS EXEMPLIFIED BY THE ENTHUSIASTIC SUPPORT OF MANY LDC'S FOR A NEW INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC ORDER. BUT WE DO NOT REGARD THE CONFLICT INVOLVED AS IRRECONCILABLE. INDEED IT HELPS NO ONE TO VIEW THE CURRENT DEBATE AS LEADING TO A PERMANENT ALIGNMENT OR A CONFRONTATION BETWEEN BLOCS COMPARABLE TO THE COLD WAR. FOR OUR PART, THE UNITED STATES CERTAINLY HARBORS NO ANTAGONISM TOWARD THOSE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES SEEKING TO IMPROVE THEIR ECONOMIC POSITION. THIS IS A NATURAL OBJECTIVE, INDEED A CLEAR RESPONSIBILITY, FOR THE GOVERNMENTS IN QUESTION IF THEY WISH TO BE RESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS AND ASPIRATIONS OF THEIR PEOPLE. WE DO SEE A MUTUALITY OF INTERESTS AND BENEFITS, AND THAT IS WHAT SHOULD BE EMPHASIZED MORE.

THIS IS NOT TO DENY THE EXISTENCE OF A GOOD DEAL OF CONFRONTATIONAL RHETORIC IN THE AIR THESE DAYS. IN SOME CASES, PERHAPS THIS HAS BEEN MOTIVATED BY A DESIRE TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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DIVERT ATTENTION FROM THE MANY AND DIFFICULT INTERNAL PROBLEMS OF DEVELOPMENT, AND HEIGHTENED EXPECTATIONS, AND TO SHIFT THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES LARGELY TO THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. THIS HAS BEEN TACTICALLY USEFUL FOR A NUMBER OF LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. BUT THERE IS ALSO A GENUINE SENSE OF GRIEVANCE IN MANY CASES AND THIS CONSTITUTES A POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALITY WE CANNOT, AND DO NOT WISH TO, IGNORE.

BUT NO SOLUTION CAN BE FOUND ON CONFRONTATIONAL OR IDEOLOGICAL GROUNDS. SPECIFICALLY, WE DO NOT SEE THE NEED FOR SWEEPING NEW CHARTERS OR GLOBAL ORGANIZATIONS.

THERE ARE AVAILABLE TO ALL OF US A NUMBER OF PRACTICAL APPROACHES, WORKING BILATERALLY, MULTILATERALLY, AND THROUGH EXISTING ORGANIZATIONS, TO MEET GENUINE ECONOMIC NEEDS. THE UNITED STATES HAS BEEN ACTIVELY PURSUING A NUMBER OF PROJECTS, FOR EXAMPLE THOSE ANNOUNCED AT THE PARIS PREPCON LAST APRIL, AND WE PLAN TO ADVANCE ADDITIONAL PROPOSALS OVER THE NEXT SEVERAL MONTHS. WE BELIEVE PROGRAMS CAN BE DEVELOPED WHICH ARE BOTH RESPONSIVE AND FEASIBLE.

THESE PROGRAMS MUST BE FLEXIBLE -- WE ARE IN VERY

NEW TERRITORY IN MANY CASES. THEY MUST ALSO BE PRAGMATIC, EVOLUTIONARY, AND BASED ON A POLITICAL WILL TO COOPERATE. THAT WILL IS CERTAINLY PRESENT WITHIN THE U.S. GOVERNMENT AND MANY OTHERS. SECRETARY KISSINGER WILL BE OUTLINING SOME OF THESE PROPOSALS NEXT MONTH AT THE SEVENTH SPECIAL SESSION IN NEW YORK.

LASTLY, COOPERATIVE PROGRAMS MAY BE GLOBAL OR REGIONAL IN CONCEPT BUT THEY ULTIMATELY MUST BE TAILORED TO THE NEEDS OF INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES AND WILL DEPEND ON CORRECTIONAL MEASURES BEING UNDERTAKEN BY THOSE COUNTRIES. IT SHOULD BE KEPT IN MIND THAT BOTH THE DEVELOPED AND LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES HAVE INDIVIDUAL AND DIFFERING NEEDS, OBJECTIVES, CONSTRAINTS AND CAPABILITIES. THE CONCEPT OF UNIFIED BLOCS IS A DANGEROUS FORM OF SHORTHAND. IT IS BOTH INTELLECTUALLY MISLEADING AND ILL-SUITED TO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
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PRACTICAL PROGRESS ON REAL PROBLEMS.

(B) THE ORIGINS OF THIS PHENOMENON ARE COMPLEX AND VARIED. IN MANY CASES, PARTICULARLY IN AFRICA, PROSPERITY AND IMPROVED LIVING STANDARDS HAVE NOT ACCOMPANIED POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE, DESPITE EARLY EXPECTATIONS. FORMERLY DEPENDENT TERRITORIES WERE OFTEN ENCUMBERED BY SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS NOT CONDUCTIVE TO THE KIND OF REFORM NEEDED TO PRODUCE EARLY AND VISIBLE ECONOMIC IMPROVEMENT. IN LATIN AMERICA, MAJOR ECONOMIC INDICES HAVE IMPROVED BUT THE BENEFITS OF GROWTH HAVE NOT BEEN UNIFORMLY DISTRIBUTED. IN GENERAL, THE ABSOLUTE GAP BETWEEN RICH AND POOR HAS REMAINED AS WIDE, OR WIDER THAN EVER -- BOTH INTERNALLY AND INTERNATIONALLY. POPULATION GROWTH HAS IN SOME CASES OUTSTRIPPED SHORT TERM PRODUCTIVE CAPACITY. UNWISE INVESTMENT POLICIES IN MANY COUNTRIES HAVE EXACERBATED THE PROBLEM. PRICE INCREASES IN KEY COMMODITIES, ESPECIALLY PETROLEUM, DECREED BY SEVERAL NATIONAL AUTHORITIES, HAVE ALSO BEEN A FACTOR ENCOURAGING

A CONFRONTATIONAL STRATEGY DESPITE THE FACT THAT FOR THE MOST PART SUCH INCREASES HAVE ADVERSELY AFFECTED POOR COUNTRIES MORE THAN RICH ONES. WITHAL, THE UBIQUITY OF NEW COMMUNICATIONS TECHNOLOGY AND THE TREND TOWARD URBANIZATION HAVE HIGHTENED THE PERCEIVED CONTRAST BETWEEN RICH AND POOR IN BOTH GLOBAL AND NATIONAL TERMS. MOST OF THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES BELIEVE THAT, WHILE THEY HAVE CONTRIBUTED TO THE PROSPERITY OF THE INDUSTRIALIZED WORLD BY SUPPLYING RAW MATERIALS AND LABOR, THEY HAVE BEEN

LARGELY DEPRIVED OF ITS BENEFITS. WITHIN LATIN AMERICA THIS IS AN OLD THEME, DATING BACK TO THE ARGUMENTS OF RAUL PREBISCH AT THE END OF THE '40'S.

(C) IN GENERAL, THE LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES BELIEVE THAT THE MORE ECONOMICALLY ADVANCED HAVE NOT BEEN SUFFICIENTLY SENSITIVE TO THEIR SPECIAL NEEDS. THEY BELIEVE THAT AID PROGRAMS HAVE BEEN INADEQUATE, WHILE TRADE POLICIES HAVE BEEN PROTECTIONIST AND DEVELOPED COUNTRY MARKETS NOT SUFFICIENTLY ACCESSIBLE.
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THEY ARE IN THE MAIN MORE IMPRESSED BY WHAT THEY HAVE NOT GOTTEN OUT OF THE PRESENCE OF MULTINATIONAL CORPORATIONS THAN BY THE BENEFITS OF THE CORPORATE PRESENCE IN THEIR TERRITORIES. THEY SEEK GREATER LOCAL CONTROL OVER TECHNOLOGY, TRAINING, EXPORT DIVERSIFICATION, EMPLOYMENT, GENERAL DEVELOPMENT, AND PROFIT SHARING. THEY HOLD THAT THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES HAVE FREQUENTLY MAINTAINED A VICIOUS CIRCLE OF ECONOMIC DEPENDENCE BY THE UNJUST USE OF THEIR LARGER ECONOMIC LEVERAGE AND HAVE THEREBY ENSURED THAT DISPARITIES IN WEALTH ARE SELF-PERPETUATING.

IT IS IMPORTANT, IN OUR VIEW, TO RECOGNIZE WHAT IS LEGITIMATE IN THESE GRIEVANCES AND TRY TO RESPOND TO THEM. THE KEY ISSUES IS TO DEVELOP THE CAPACITY TO RESPOND COOPERATIVELY AND EFFECTIVELY TO THE GROWING NEED FOR BOTH IMPROVED PRODUCTION AND GREATER INTERNATIONAL PARTICIPATION IN ITS BENEFITS. IF PROGRESS IS TO BE MADE, HOWEVER, WE MUST AVOID DESCENT INTO THE MURKY WORLD OF GENERALIZED AND RHETORICAL NOTIONS ABOUT ECONOMIC INJUSTICE AND POLITICALLY ENFORCED RE-DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH. WE HOPE WE CAN EFFECT SOME PROGRESS, TOGETHER WITH OTHER DEVELOPED COUNTRIES AND IN COOPERATION WITH THE LDC'S THEMSELVES, IN COPING WITH RAPIDLY CHANGING INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC CIRCUMSTANCES BUT OUR PROSPECTS ARE NOT ENHANCED BY ENTERING INTO THE PHILOSOPHICAL DETOURS TO WHICH WE ARE SO OFTEN INVITED. KISSINGER

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